

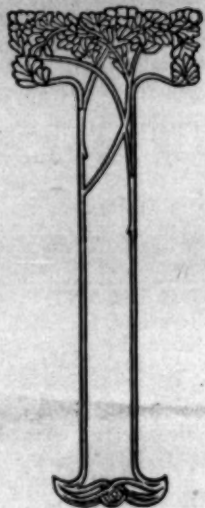
V 4-5<sup>3</sup> 1913-14

# The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage  
37 West 39th Street, New York City

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Vol. 4  
No. 1



PRIMITIVE SUFFRAGE AND  
FEMINISM

MISTAKEN SUFFRAGE STATISTICS

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT'S "CASE"

WOMAN'S REAL WORK

SUFFRAGISTS' REASONS AGAINST  
SUFFRAGE

PROHIBITION AND SUFFRAGE

CRITICISMS OF "HAGAR"

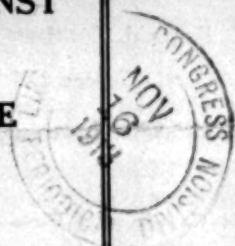
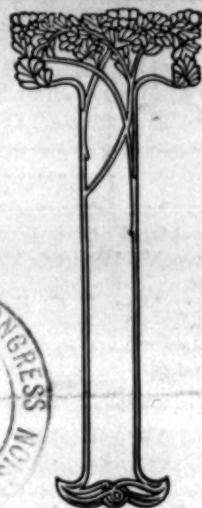
"BEHIND THE TIMES"

"BACK TO THE HOME"—TWO  
VIEWS

THE INDEPENDENT COUNSELOR

NOTES AND COMMENT

NOVEMBER  
1913



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## How Primitive Suffrage Differed from To-day's Feminism

IN considering the question of Woman Suffrage in Colorado, Utah or Wyoming, one must bear in mind that the actual casting of a vote where there is no great strain, excitement or competition could not possibly hurt anyone. A child might safely do it so far as any effect it would produce on her is concerned. In the earlier suffrage States there was never any woman movement. The vote was given to the women as a political expedient sometimes through populism or something similar, and again in order to double the domestic vote in States where the mining towns had a rough and undesirable class of citizens who owned no land. Women were so greatly in the minority in such localities and so busy with their home duties and so entirely free from any suspicion of a desire to be rivals of men, in public life that votes for women meant in those days merely two votes for the home. It was a safeguard against the rougher element, the men who, having neither wife nor children, were less interested in the welfare and prosperity of the State and more apt to be in favor of any measures that would bring immediate returns to themselves so that they could found homes elsewhere.

Now the women of these early suffrage States made no struggle to obtain the vote. In fact, they never asked for it and it may be assumed that they generally used it much as they do in Denmark and Australia, to duplicate their husbands' votes. That was why it was given them and they doubtless knew that and acted on it. For a time then it may have done good and in the long run it has certainly done little harm, and the reason is easy to see. The women lost nothing in fighting for it. They were in no way changed themselves by the time it came to them and they had only one idea of using it—namely, to help their husbands and to protect their homes.

What are conditions now? They are almost exactly opposite to what they were in those days. Wherever the feminist movement has grown to any marked extent it means that women are claiming the right of the vote, not to preserve the home, but to disrupt it. The passive Suffragist of twenty years ago and the active feminist of to-day are two very different people. The Suffragist who had the vote given her then was consciously and actively certain of her place in life and the ballot meant only a means to help her husband; otherwise she was indifferent to it. The feminist of the present regards the ballot as the end in itself for which any sacrifice of her place in life is worth while, and this means a great change in woman herself brought about, not by suffrage nor yet by larger responsibility or intellectual growth, but by the hysteria which is the essence of feminism. The development of the female spell-binder and her pernicious influence on the emotional members of her own sex is at the root of the new movement.

In the early days of suffrage the woman's vote meant the home-vote and doubtless still does where feminism and socialism are not developed and allied. But where the women are fighting their own fight this is not so, and the struggle in these places is not to maintain woman in the home, but to take her out of it. In England, where the movement has had more force, intensity and intelligence than anywhere else, there are one million and a half more women than men, and these women are now exactly the same danger to the stability of the State as the irresponsible and unattached miners and gamblers of the mining towns of the West were in early days. That is why Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of England, wished to pass a bill enlarging the electorate of men. The measure he urged was exactly the same as that taken in the West when similar danger threatened the homes there. The object of government

then at all costs seems to be always to preserve the home, whether the danger comes from Indians, desperadoes or only militant Suffragettes. Votes are not bestowed because a certain class becomes destructive, but on the contrary are on that account alone sometimes extended (regardless of sex) to the class of society which remains constructive.

From this we may draw a conclusion. Votes for women are harmless only where they are not wanted, for in those places they are still of secondary importance and do not stand as a means of social revolution—involving the rejection of important duties. But where women are fighting for votes they cannot safely be given, for there they will be used as an expression of feminism which means something quite different and infinitely more destructive than suffrage under primitive conditions ever meant. Votes for women are, therefore, superfluous when rightly used and dangerous otherwise.

When I am asked, as I often am: "Is not the Anti-Suffragist losing, too, in the struggle?" I reply: "Of course. We are all losing. Civilization is losing. But the Anti-Suffragist is on the defensive and attacks only as a means of defense. She will not abandon her position, no matter what the loss, until the capitulation is signed. And if that happens and a weapon she does not need is placed in her hands she will use it for conservation, not destruction. Feminism will not prevail unless the majority of women are converted to feminism which means until most women, detached from their normal duties and interests, shall become abnormal and hysterical."

The quiet Anti-Suffragist who is too busy with her useful work to attend meetings need not tremble. She is often quite as convincing in her own setting, and influences quite as many voters as any speaker if only she lets her own opinion be known. She may remember, too, that "lookers-on see most of the game" and that we bolder Anti-Suffragists are not offering our devoted services so much as an argument for women in public life as a conspicuous proof to the contrary. The mistakes of both sides fall into our net. Our object, after all, is to show the Suffragist in action and under fire, which can only be done by opposition. Our contention is, of course, that, once divorced from home and children and religion and all the special influences which make her what she is, woman is merely "lesser man" and as such negligible as an influence socially, politically or any other way. She is then man's instrument, a thing without intrinsic value except as he can use it for his own purposes. She would thus lose her own standpoint and her right to call herself in any sense a representative woman and, as such, would have little chance of election by a female constituency which values superlatively all which she most disdains. To elect feminist representatives it would, therefore, be necessary to have a feminist constituency, and this is, of course, the aim of this sort of politician. Are we tending towards that? I think not. We are merely suffering from a contagious disease common to our sex, especially to the young and unattached hysteria. The danger in the suffrage lies entirely in the subjectivity of woman which is inseparable from her sex. In normal conditions it does not develop, but under abnormal ones it does. Are the conditions which feminists advocate normal for women? Do they develop hysterical tendencies? Is the hysterical tendency when developed a desirable addition to political campaigns? Each man and woman must answer these questions for him or herself. The opportunity is given us to form an opinion. Every day and hour adds to the evidence from which we may judge.

J. T. W.



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Vol. IV.

November, 1913

No. 1

## The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

The continued appearance of articles appealing to physical impulses and sex curiosity in the daily press and the recent issues of various periodicals, has forced us to comment in some way on the serious influence a continuance of such articles would surely have on untrained minds and uneducated wills. That the tide is turning is evidenced in the editorials quoted on this page. We hope that improved conditions will make it possible for us to avoid these questions entirely in the future.

The tidal wave of indecency which has been swelling enormously these several years, and which now, let us sincerely hope, is at its crest, is not a freak of civilization, nor a sign of degeneracy, nor a triumph of evil-mindedness, nor the first swift steps of our plunge into the utter annihilation of wickedness, nor any other of the horrible phenomena suggested by short-sighted and frightened persons. Shocking though some of its latest manifestations are, it is really nothing to be seriously alarmed about—any more than sea-sickness or any other abnormal accompaniment of change. Civilization is crossing seas, just now, and the ship is rocking most unpleasantly between moorings. We have cast off most happily the grim and fettering old convention of unnatural science about natural facts, and we have not yet laid firm hold upon the new and natural and decently frank and altogether livable convention which will be established when civilization determines the kind and extent of reserves necessary to make living sensitive and high-minded and noble under the conditions of our new intellectual honesty, our increased knowledge and our finer cultivation.

Meantime, without compass or steerage way, we roll a little in the trough. It is history for the thousandth time repeated.

Therefore let us not waste emotion bemoaning a temporary condition. Let us take our dose as calmly as possible. Let us see in the license of some of our plays a feeling about the limits and let us enjoy the spectacle of the inevitable utter discomfiture of those who pass them. Let us recognize in the self-degradation of a few conspicuous periodicals an attempt to exploit for profit an assumed moral rottenness in a generation which, its curiosity once sated, is already beginning to prove itself sound; and let us, during the next several years, watch with amused comprehension their disorderly scuttling back into the safety of convention. As for the heralded eccentricity of modern dress, that carries its own cure. At worst it is a safety-valve; and one may trust in all conditions the collective taste of American women.

Again, let not our judgments be impaired by the prominence and large circulation of several of these periodicals. After all, they are as one to thousands of those which, like *The Century*, will realize in their pages only the restrained freedom and the soundest taste of our newer and honester and more enlightened times.—Editorial in November *Century*.

It is time that we called a halt to the sex fanatics. They have been at work for some years past, and now the air is becoming unbreathable. Every sacred mystery of life has been cheapened, coarsened, profaned. All the protective veils of mystery and

sanctity have been broken down, and in their place we are offered statistics, hospital reports and iodoform. It is these sex fanatics that are largely responsible for the juvenile immorality of the day. It is the sex newspaper, the sex drama, the sex novel, the sex reformer, and the sex pulpit that have created it. And it has been nourished by the apathy and the neglect of parents who are quite content that the policewoman and the delinquency court shall do the work that has been so shamelessly neglected by themselves.—*San Francisco Argonaut*.

Editorial, *New York Herald*, October 25, 1913

The police have not moved too quickly in stopping the sale of the Suffragette organ of the Pankhurst family. It reeks with indecencies put forth under the guise of arguments for a crusade in behalf of women.

The circulation of each copy of this paper does damage to the Suffragette cause—does harm to womanhood and harm to general decency. It is strange that sex problems must be continually mixed up with the question of the right of women to vote. Most of the fads and so-called reforms that are started in England come over here and are tried, and that this one has come gives us real grievance against John Bull and his island.

Breaking the silence which was maintained with regard to Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst before her admission to this country, the National Association Opposed to Women's Suffrage issued a statement on October 22d in reference to this "world's leading advocate of riot and rebellion and the destruction of property when necessary," and said further:

"Mrs. Pankhurst is at least consistent, and for this the American public should be grateful because it knows that she is in this country as the impersonation of the suffrage militancy which outraged Great Britain. And, realizing this, the public is in a position to disregard both her preaching and her examples.

### POINTS OUT DANGER

"Neither this organization nor any of its representatives filed objections with the United States Government to the admission of Mrs. Pankhurst to this country. But since she is here, it becomes our duty to express in the most emphatic terms possible our disapproval of her tactics and her doctrines, and to point out the danger that threatens the United States because of the hysterical tendency of many Suffragists to exploit her, to side with her and to emulate her methods.

"That there is danger of her having such an effect on the Suffragists of this country is indisputable. Already they are feasting her and following her. While decrying militancy, they thank her for the work she has done, and, while crying out for peaceful methods in this country, they welcome her as an inspiration to the workers in their ranks.

### CLAIMS TO DISTINCTION

"If the Suffragists here do not side with Mrs. Pankhurst and do not approve of her line of action, what is the explanation of the applause which they give her? Is it a desire to exploit for purposes of cheap advertisement a misguided and mischievous woman, or is it merely meaningless hysteria?

"Mrs. Pankhurst has only three possible claims to distinction. She has worked hard for her mistaken ideas about suffrage; she has used hunger as an argument; and she has been imprisoned seven times. Surely if these American women were not her disciples in militancy, they would not try to make a popular heroine of a woman who preaches what she herself described at Ellis Island as 'riot and rebellion,' and which in plain English is anarchy.

"The answer is simple and not to be denied. There is a vast amount of frank and active sympathy with militancy among American women, and the coming of Mrs. Pankhurst has served merely to bring it to the surface and expose it, a danger signal to the country. This is why this organization issues a warning and a plea to men and women alike to refuse to indorse either Mrs. Pankhurst or her American followers."

As men become more effeminate and neglect more and more their duties as law-makers, defenders of the home and bread-winners, women become more belligerent and aggressive and strive more and more for complete domination. These two conditions commonly go together and are not indicative of progress, but of deterioration in both spheres, the decadence of men reacting on women and *vice versa*. Thus the vicious circle of national degeneration has been formed in the past and may be in the present.



# Mistaken Suffrage Statistics and Erroneous Conclusions

(A Letter to the Editor of the *Boston Herald*)

IN a recent issue of *The Herald* Miss Alice Stone Blackwell enumerates sixteen things which she thinks women would accomplish through the possession of the ballot. To several of these things I happen to have given a good deal of study, and am therefore particularly interested in them.

Miss Blackwell begins by stating that "the eleven countries where the infant death rate is lowest are all of them countries where women vote." This statement shows such a remarkable lack of knowledge of the subject of which she speaks that I was led to inquire at a public meeting of Mrs. Park from whence Miss Blackwell had drawn her information, and was by her directed to the published proceedings of the American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality for 1910, page 183, as her authority. The latest world-wide statistics here given are those from 1901-1905. I happen to be a director of this association and therefore have their publications; there are, of course, later statistics than those chosen, but since Miss Blackwell took these, we will content ourselves with them—for the changes have not been material. Mr. Phelps there takes the statistics of the thirty-one leading countries of the world, exclusive of America. In the order of infant mortality the countries run thus, beginning at the lowest: 1, New Zealand; 2, Norway; 3, Australia; 4, Tasmania; 5, Sweden; 6, Queensland; 7, Victoria; 8, New South Wales; 9, Ireland; 10, Denmark; 11, Scotland. In only six of these 11 countries did women vote at the time that these statistics were taken, and all of these six are included in Australasia, where the total population is only 4,000,000. Western Australia is not included in these first 11, though it had woman's suffrage at the time, and had also a very sparsely scattered population compared with the countries having only male suffrage—a fact which is conducive to a low rate of infant mortality. To be mistaken in five out of eleven is rather a large percentage of error. This misquotation of figures when the true statistics do not answer their purpose is a common practice of—shall I say demagogues?

Again, Mrs. Blackwell thinks that women's votes would procure us an eight-hour law for women. We have here already, without women's votes, a fifty-four-hour law for women in manufacturing and mercantile establishments, with prohibition of night work, whereas none of those suffrage States which have succeeded in getting an eight-hour law prohibit night work for their women, and in Colorado and Washington there is not even provision for one day's rest in seven. Again, she says that women's votes would establish minimum wage commissions; the first minimum wage commission was established in Massachusetts with only male suffrage.

Again, she speaks of promoting temperance through woman suffrage. Is she unaware that in Michigan the great majority of the dry counties in the recent election, when woman suffrage was so overwhelmingly defeated, voted against the suffrage, they numbered 28 out of 33 counties which had always gone dry, whereas of the counties that voted for woman's suffrage 12 out of the 17 were wet counties.

Again she speaks of the vote opening positions now closed to women. The last United States census shows that there are now only nine trades and professions peculiar to men—they are the navy, the army, the marines, helpers to roofers and slaters, helpers to boiler-makers, firemen, brass workers, etc. Does Miss Blackwell not know this, or is she playing to the gallery?

Again she argues that with woman suffrage we should get pure milk. Does she not know that Massachusetts would three years ago have got proper legislation to protect her milk supply had not the Governor vetoed the clean milk bill? Does she think that had women voted Governor Foss would never have been

elected? It does not look as if he thought so, for he has declared himself a Suffragist.

Again she assumes that women would secure more adequate appropriation for education, playgrounds, etc., if they could vote for these things. Women in Massachusetts have possessed the privilege of voting for the school committee for thirty-four years. Their interest in education prompts approximately 2 per cent. of them to avail themselves of this privilege. Accurate statistics are not as glittering as unaided imagination, but they are sometimes helpful in forming opinions.

One more rather amusing statement of hers, and we are done. She says that women teachers would get equal pay for equal work could they but vote. Can she be unaware that the only place in this country where women school teachers have equal pay with men is in New York City where women cannot vote at all, even for the school committee?

All the remaining reforms which Miss Blackwell mentions are matters in which public opinion must be the moving factor and about which votes are worth little more than the value of the paper on which they are written.

It is a pitiful thing to see this leader of the suffrage cause in New England stoop to such tactics as these. Women should be the uplifters of humanity—they should bring the offering of their work with clean hands and a pure heart, and their banner should shine unsullied before the world.

Boston, October 12.

MRS. WILLIAM LOWELL PUTNAM.

## Sir Almroth Wright's "The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage."

ANY man must be courageous indeed when he voices the fundamental objections to woman suffrage. Sir Almroth Wright, in "The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage," has spoken frankly and directly of what he recognizes as fundamental truths in woman's temperamental difference from man. It is unfortunate that a certain harshness of phraseology may tend to prejudice the reader who takes this superficial harshness without the qualification which comes from a careful perusal of Sir Almroth's full argument. It remains true, however, that the author, out of his scientific investigation, which is based on a knowledge of medicine and on a careful consideration of the laws of political economy and of political philosophy, makes out an argument which merits most careful consideration. The preface of the book states that woman has "stifled discussion by placing her taboo upon anything seriously unflattering being said about her in public." This undoubted fact has fostered in our country a silence among men who, while holding the highest ideals of American womanhood, still perceive in woman a tendency which is not desirable to infuse into our political life.

When a proposal for the extension of the franchise is made the patriotic man must ask this question: Will this extension of the suffrage make for the stability of the government? Sir Almroth's book helps us to answer this question. He argues that woman, on the whole, is inferior in public experience and in public capacity to man. Her vote, therefore, would tend to endanger the stability of the State. This does not mean that woman is inferior to man in other qualities equally necessary for the welfare of the State—it does mean that in politics she is out of the place in which she can render the most efficient service to the State. This argument was used two generations ago by the revered Horace Bushnell, in his "Woman Suffrage, the Reform Against Nature," and we are indebted to Sir Almroth Wright for enriching that argument with his knowledge of modern conditions, although we might have wished that some of his statements could have been cast in a less harsh phraseology.



## "Suffragette" Sales

(A Letter to the *New York Times*)

CHIEF MAGISTRATE McADOO in to-day's *Times* is quoted as saying that the articles, "The Dangers of Marriage," and "Plain Facts About Marriage," in *The Suffragette* were "apparently based upon liberal quotations from the writings of the late Dr. Morrow of this city, and also from a book written by a New York Woman, and for sale in the stores." So far as Dr. Morrow is concerned, it is due to his memory to say that the leaflets, etc., prepared by him upon the difficult subject of sex hygiene were always most carefully circulated, through selected channels, and each one was scrupulously adapted to the class to which it was addressed. Never were they intended to be offered for sale by young women to a promiscuous public, nor for discussion any and every where, by any and every one.

So many men and women known to be opposed to woman suffrage are identified with the social hygiene and moral prophylaxis work that it seems almost unnecessary to call attention to the fact that all these modern scientific movements are a part of the life of the present, belonging no more to one social or political division than another. But while some men and women think, or hope, to "reform" the poor, old, patient world by cataclysmic methods, we others believe that we see in the orderly evolution to be observed in nature the only way to effect permanent change. Volcanic eruptions are very damaging and destroying—a magnificent display, ungoverned and uncontrolled, then ashes and extinction. Growth is steady, and progressive, and quiet.

MRS. FRANCIS M. SCOTT.

## THE ONLY REGENERATION

By FLORENCE GOFF SCHWARZ

There's no earthly use in prating of eugenics' saving grace  
As a means of restoration for an enervated race;  
All the moral interdiction human logic can enforce  
Will not stem the tide of error,—you must dam it at its source.

You may preach a thousand isms, you may pass a million laws,  
You will never cure an evil if you fail to treat the cause.  
If the coming generation would be strong and undefiled,  
Then regenerate the mothers—for the mother trains the child.

And the mother sets the fashion for the youth to imitate;  
She it is who, by example, marks the crucial line of fate.  
For each juvenile delinquent haled before the justice bar  
There's an inefficient mother who is sadly under par.

When a man goes forth unarmored with the shield of self-control,  
With no mother-guard on duty at the portal of his soul,  
There is not a rule in science which with sin can arbitrate  
For the child was started crooked and you cannot make him straight.

There is no regeneration that will put a stop to sin  
Save the righteous sense of humans working outward from within:

There is naught in "Votes for women" which will lead our steps aright,  
But a host of praying mothers are colossal in their might.

Here is woman's special duty—her's because she understands;  
She alone can solve the problem for she holds it in her hands.  
Man, amid life's tempest, tosses on the outward edge of things,  
And the loyal love of woman is the rock to which he clings.

When the wider, deeper concepts of the soul are understood,  
When the jaded lusts and passions find in virtue greatest good,  
There will be no need of science—then will dawn the better day,  
But the mothers of the country must arise and lead the way.

## Woman's Real Work

By ARCHIBALD HOPKINS

ONE of the positions taken by the large majority of the women of the country who are opposed to suffrage—and it is said that not twenty per cent. are in favor of it—is that women as a whole are not doing thoroughly and well what they have to do now, and that there is a field of highly useful constructive effort open to them, which would absorb all their ability and energy while carrying on their own exclusive work, if it were done in the best way. It is to be observed, by the way, that the suffrage women, while still claiming that they have their own special sphere and function in society, which cannot be relinquished or invaded, insist that there is nothing in the world in the way of rights, duties, privileges, immunities, enjoyments or occupation which belong exclusively to men, and that women are entitled to enter upon, take possession of, exercise and occupy all of them.

Passing that by, however, it is pointed out that in those lines of activity and usefulness which must remain in women's hands, there is an immense amount which can be done to improve existing conditions. Take the management of a house and bringing up of children.

No one will question that there is ample room for improvement in both these directions. Any woman who fits herself thoroughly to run a house as a business, economically and in the best way to get cheerful satisfactory work out of her domestics, and properly cares for them, and fills the place which a mother ought to fill, and which no other can, in the lives of children, and molds and fashions them to what they ought to be, is accomplishing the greatest, most important and far-reaching work in the world. She alone can do it, and if she does it properly it will take all her time and energy. Any that she diverts to outside matters which do not require her care diminishes by just so much what she ought to give to what is her first duty. Take the question of domestic service alone; it is in a very unsatisfactory state and needs overhauling and reorganization on a better basis for both parties. It ought to be made more efficient, and humanized as well, and it must be done by women. Illustrative of possibilities is the excellent work the Housewives' League is doing in improving market conditions, reducing the cost of living by bringing producers and consumers together. The greatest need of the country is homes, real homes, with all the sweet affections and uplifting influences that they engender. Can women do anything better than to make them? To do it they will have to put all of themselves into it.

Then take the unmothered children there are everywhere. There is a great work to be done, which ought to appeal to every true woman in giving them a little of the love and care and training which they are without, and wholly without which their lives must be darkened and their development dwarfed. This can be done by single women.

Look besides at the vast field of philanthropy where woman is naturally foremost. If the women of the country would undertake to fully occupy and thoroughly till all these fields they would be so busy and find themselves so contented and the community so appreciative that they would give no thought to the work which has always been done by men.

Has not the Feminist movement, away from home, home-life, children and domestic occupations, gone too far? There was need for readjustment, and as is often the case when the force necessary for the change gathers, there is a surplus which carries the movement beyond its proper bounds. This was the case when slavery was abolished, extending to the harmful reconstruction legislation, reaction followed. The extent to which women are crowding into every occupation has necessarily lowered wages and prevented men from marrying, thus doing great harm to the social fabric.

There will be a reaction on the part of the women themselves.



## Suffragists' Reasons Against Enfranchising Women

IT seems only just for someone to enumerate several of the really excellent reasons put forth by the Suffragists against granting the franchise to women.

According to the latest claims of the Suffragists, "16 per cent." of the women now have the right to vote, and "10 per cent. more are avowed Suffragists."

Now, allowing these figures are not open to revision and correction—some very good authorities hold that they are both—there are still 74 per cent. of the women either entirely indifferent or actively opposed.

We may well believe, also, that a good percentage of the women having the vote are indifferent to its use.

When once the franchise is granted to all women, no one will have the power to say that any certain section of them shall be deprived of the right to exercise it.

Therefore, 74 per cent. of those to whom the Suffragists would grant the ballot are, according to their own showing, loudly proclaimed throughout the country:

"Criminally indifferent to the welfare of women and children and the safety of girls."

"Destructionists of the dignity of Womanhood, of the real Home, of Justice and Freedom." (A. H. S.)

"Trying to prove Women lacking in Honor, in Character, in Intelligence, in common Honesty." (A. H. S.)

"Protectors of the Liquor Interests, Food Dopers, Child Labor Exploiters, White Slavers and Political Bosses."

(This last list appeared in a magazine and was indorsed by reason of its being reproduced in the "Organ of The Woman Suffrage Party and The N. Y. State Woman Suffrage Assn.," "The Woman Voter and The Newsletter.")

"Vultures looking for Carrion." (A. H. S.)

"Revel in the dark and seamy side of human nature." (A. H. S.)

The more active Antis "only serve the purpose that by holding out their skirts, they act as a screen for the liquor traffic, the gambler, the vicious, and those interested in dance halls and places where young girls are ruined." (A. H. S.)

These initials refer to the Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, a bright, particular star among Suffragists, and termed by some of their women "One of our Noble Women not a few."

These are but a few of the statements of the Suffragists against the fitness of women, to possess the ballot; there are many more but surely these will suffice.

This is a powerful arraignment of the Women Opposed to Equal Suffrage.

Some only passively opposed because indifferent and ignorant of all that is at stake.

Others actively opposed, because forced by their knowledge of all that is at stake, through their earnest study of the question, in its many and varied aspects, to fight to preserve those things which to their minds present woman's whole sphere and sacred duties.

R. A. LAWRENCE.

Following the writing of this article came this letter on the same subject:

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

It is obvious that President Shaw will not have to go campaigning for the right to free speech. Her reverence already enjoys that inestimable privilege to the utmost. But the question that suggests itself to the anti-suffrage mind is, will our interests be better safeguarded as women by an individual who does not hesitate to brand as "vultures" any who chance to disagree with her and who does not permit to onlookers any observation whatever in regard to the party of which she is so bright an ornament? It seems as though if the Rev. Anna Shaw were

ever elected to Congress by the votes of Suffragists, woman as a whole would require an apologist and perhaps might depend on some chivalrous male to defend their fair fame. Anyone who remarks on a slit skirt as worn by a Suffragist is a "vulture" "gloating" on its prey. Any woman who is content to do her duty as wife and mother is a "parasite" or "scab." Any person who does not believe woman suffrage is the universal nostrum is "in league with organized vice and the liquor interests." From these instances one may judge the era of broad toleration and highly improved political manners which will exist under suffrage. One may also judge how much easier things will be for the average woman when they are represented by members of their own sex (it is true), but women so far divorced from a normal woman's interests and activities as to be almost outside a normal woman's experience of women.

I. E.

### The Mother of Five Boys and Four Girls Writes About "Power"

DOWN in the brothel district on the south side of the city of Chicago is a little girl; caught in the fangs of that fiendish machine and destined to a terrible, long-lingering death. I found, upon talking with her a few days ago, that she has not wholly lost a desire for the better things of life, but she slides on because she fears the hard climb back. Her four brothers are whiskey wrecks, and when I spoke of her mother she laughed, one of those hard, dry, cutting laughs, as she said, "Oh, Mother is out looking for power and a chance to use it. She wants to vote and when she does get that right the saloon and the brothel must go—she says, but," and the smile died from her face as she added, "that won't help Harry, or Joe, or Frank, or Jim, or me—we're lost."

That sister is out fighting for the right to vote, she was out fighting for that right when her four boys and one girl started on the wayward path, and that right given her now will never wipe the stain from five souls. A vote won't save a lost girl and it won't cause the whiskey appetite to leave its victim, but boys and girls are not born with these appetites—no, they were developed. Why?

Saloons and brothels are great evils and they should go, but there is but one way in which they shall pass—stop the supply. It takes young girls and young men to keep these damnable vocations in the prosperous condition we find them in to-day, and this young blood must come from your home or mine; old hands are dying off and the home is looked to that the ranks may be kept full.

Your vote may cause the saloonkeeper to take down his sign, draw his shutters and close his front door, and it might cause the brothel district to become a little more cautious, but you still have men craving for drink and young women tripping about the chute to ruin, and those men will find a place to quench their thirst and some of those girls will slip and fall; but just suppose the home was a place which sent out womanly women and manly men, men and women who knew themselves because they had been educated by a godly mother and were thus bulwarked against the world, it is then that you would find a "For Rent" sign in the saloon window and the levee in darkness.

I am the mother of five boys and four girls; all still under the old roof. Have I power? As I look them over I realize that within my grasp lies the power to mold and fashion the minds and morals of five boys who shall some day become fathers and then grandfathers, four girls that may become mothers and then grandmothers. Have I power? Yes, my dear sisters, and the opportunity to so use it as to make it felt in coming generations.

Mrs. H. W. B.



## An Interesting and Illuminating Study of Prohibition and Suffrage

MRS. LILLIAN M. N. STEVENS, of Portland, Maine, President of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union, stated in her speech at Asbury Park, on October 31st, that the growth of prohibition in the States where women have political influence shows what the ultimate result will be when the women of the entire country are enfranchised. It is interesting to note in this connection that the nine prohibition States are all non-suffrage States, and that prohibition does not prevail in any of the nine suffrage States except Kansas, which had prohibition for 19 years before its women were enfranchised.

(From the *Philadelphia Press*)

November, 1912.—Prohibition submitted to voters in Colorado. According to the *Denver Post* the most ardent workers for the saloons were women in silks, etc. The saloon sustained by a large majority.

Boice City, Idaho.—Local option election on June 19, 1912. The majority for the saloon was 2,300.

November.—Counties of Bonner, Lemhi, Kootenai and Idaho returned to the wet column, after being "dry" two years. Ac-

cording to the papers the work for the saloons was done by women.

Of the 156 elections in California in 1912 on local option, 57 were incorporated cities, and of these 37 voted for the saloon. The total wet majorities in all 156 elections were 68,843, as against total dry majorities of 14,617, leaving a total in favor of the saloon of 54,226, chiefly gained in the larger cities, where the flashily dressed woman was conspicuous in the campaign.

In Los Angeles in certain districts the registered women voters were in the majority, and in those districts the vote in favor of the saloon was 3 to 1.

Prohibition has not been adopted in any suffrage State. Kansas, a Prohibition State, has adopted woman suffrage.

In Wyoming, the oldest of the suffrage States, there is not even local option.

Oregon and Arizona have local option.

All the Prohibition States, except Kansas, are anti-suffrage.

In Los Angeles the saloon was one of the first issues voted on by women. The saloons won by a large majority.

Law raising the age of consent in Colorado passed by Legislature elected by men.

## Failure of Suffrage in California Proves Women Indifferent to Vote

(News Item)

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 3, 1913.—Senator John D. Works, formerly a champion of woman suffrage, to-day declared before the Woman's City Club that woman suffrage in California is a failure.

Senator Works made many speeches advocating votes for women during the recent California suffrage campaign, and his declaration to-day created a decided sensation at the club.

"The women in California, taken in the mass, have made a failure of suffrage," he said. "How many women voted at the last election? The women who go to club meetings and hear public questions discussed probably did, and they should be commended. But they are only a small number, and the other women did not vote."

THE percentage of both men and women entitled to vote who voted in the Presidential election of 1912 in California was 43.2, while for the entire country the percentage of the total number of eligible men who voted was 69.1. This seems to prove that one bad effect of woman suffrage in California has been a lessening of the men's interest in government, i. e., voting.

The figures below show that only 18.5 per cent. of the eligible women voters took

enough interest to exercise their "right."

These figures from official sources are an interesting study:

Total men and women registered to vote in California 1912.....	984,633
Total vote for President in California 1912.....	673,527
Per cent. of registered that voted	68.4%
Total women registered in California 1912.....	180,000
If registered women voted as generally (which is doubtful) as registered men in California, or if 68.4 per cent. of registered women voted, then only 123,120 voted for President, or 18.5 per cent. of women over 21 (of which there was 665,450 in California) voted at election November 5, 1912.	
Total men and women over 21 in California, census 1910.....	1,556,244
Total vote for President Nov. 5, 1912, in California.....	673,527
Men and women in California who voted for President in 1912	43.2%
Total vote for President in U. S. 1912 .....	15,033,699
Less estimated women's vote in six suffrage States (17.73 per cent. of 1,339,054 women over 21 in six suffrage States).....	237,433
Total men's vote.....	14,796,266

Total men over 21 in U. S., 1910 census ..... 26,999,151  
Total negro men over 21 in U. S., 1910 census... 2,458,873  
Total aliens (men) over 21 in U. S., 1910 census, not naturalized..... 3,612,700

Fair estimate of negroes not allowed to vote. (The "grandfather's" clause and educational restrictions and poll tax practically disfranchise the negroes in the Southern States)... 2,000,000  
Aliens who have no vote (census Abstract, p. 108) ..... 3,612,700  
Men who could vote..... 21,386,451  
Men who did vote..... 14,796,266  
Per cent. entitled to vote who voted ..... 69.1%

THIS extract is from a letter written by a San Francisco woman.

September 23, 1913.

\* \* \* The truth is that the feeling between the two camps, both the suffrage and the anti-suffrage runs almost as high as it did when you were in California.

We think the outcome of "votes for women" in California is just as bad as we expected it to be, and worse. They are very vindictive against us, and their leaders have, over their own signatures in the papers, justified the English militants. The effect of suffrage on its leaders is being evident. They are full of feverish excitement, not to say vindictiveness, which is really as destructive to the natural, normal life of woman as a craze for drink would be.

Suffrage is in accord with the spirit of the age, which is tired, quite tired, of daily painstaking duties, and is in love with "get-rich-quick" methods, bargain sales and power, any kind of power, at any cost, and without discrimination.

## Woman's Creative Duty as Mrs. Ward Sees It

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S "Coryston Family" contains an illuminating study of the woman who allows politics to penetrate every act of her family and social life. The Philosopher of the story records his sentiments in this fashion. "Not voting—not direct party-fighting—but the creation of a spiritual atmosphere in which the nation may do its best, and may be insensibly urged to do its best, in fresh, spontaneous ways, like a plant flowering in a happy climate—isn't that what women might do for us, instead of taking up with all the old-fashioned, disappointing, political machinery that men have found out?"



### A Suggestion for One Kind of Reformer

(From *New York Tribune*, Oct. 6, 1913)

HAS Mr. Norman Hapgood, editor of *The Journal of the New Civilization*, read Emerson? Of course he has! Yet we wish he would reread the essay on "New England Reformers":

"Many a reformer perishes in his removal of rubbish—and that makes the offensiveness of the class. They are partial—they are not equal to the work they pretend, and they lose their way—in the assault on the kingdom of darkness, they expend all their energy on some accidental evil, and lose their sanity and power of benefit. It is of little moment that one or two or twenty errors of our social system be corrected, but of much that the man be in his senses."

The man who wrote these words—right or wrong—was not (according to President Eliot of Harvard) himself a reformer, only a "prophet and inspirer of reform." Carlyle called him a new era in his country's history; Augustine Birrell writes that "he was an Emancipator—not of black bodies, but of the minds of white men." But in spite of his exuberant individualism, Emerson kept his balance as a "prophet and inspirer of reform." We wish that the editor of *Harper's Weekly* would take outdoor exercise and reread "New England Reformers."

### Unhappy Women and an Imaginary Dilemma

THE following is from a recent editorial on "Unhappy Women":

The women of this world are in a very bad way indeed if we may believe Miss Esther Dresden, president of the Young Woman's Suffrage Alliance of Illinois. In "the wealthy middle classes," according to Miss Dresden, the women live in a state of "sex parasitism," dependent on man and kept by him in "a harem of one" in comfort and luxury, without doing one iota of physical or mental work. With the other classes marriage simply means "more work." The women of these classes, on marrying, "are all reduced to the low level of kitchen drudges." They "procure a life job of domestic work—via a husband."

It is to be feared that Miss Dresden is hard to satisfy. If the wife and mother doesn't work she is a "sex parasite"—the inmate of a "harem for one." And if she does work she is a "domestic drudge." It seems to be six of one and a half-dozen of the other, and the only means of escape from the horrible dilemma is not to marry at all and go out to fight for equal suffrage and woman's rights.

### The Spectacle of Young Women "Taggers"

(From the *Chicago Tribune*)

YESTERDAY was another tag-day. The cause was doubtless splendid. Nevertheless there was something extremely repugnant in the spectacle of so many young women standing hour after hour at street corners speaking to every man who passed by.

It was noticed yesterday that many of the young women who served as taggers took stands in front of corner saloons. Some of them not only spoke to the passing men, but smiled at them, in the attempt to be winning. Not a few of the young women were overdressed and obviously wore a good deal of make-up.

As a charitable method, tag-day is about worn out. It should be stopped before scandal results.

Let France have good mothers and she will have good sons.

—NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

### "A Melancholy Sign of Moral Decadence"

(From the *Universe*)

LITERATURE is oversexed. If we were to believe the fictionists and the playwrights, sex is the one morbid, absorbing and exclusive topic of thought and conversation. It is a misrepresentation of fact. When God created man He made him to the likeness of God. Male and female He created them. The revolt against the order of being and the blurring of natural and inevitable distinctions by a would-be new species of women-men and men-women is surely a melancholy sign of decadence both intellectual and moral.

In Colorado leading citizens say the liquor interests and corrupt politicians find the women voters so easily managed that they will never allow votes for women to be abandoned.—Chas. M. Davis, Camden, N. J., *Press*.



"THE FURIES"

ROBERT CARTER in the *New York Evening Sun*



## Mellifluous Chords to Keep the Party Together

PROGRESSIVISM is not having things its own way among the newly-enfranchised women of Chicago, though it got a good running start. Now the other parties are gradually organizing and we note the formation of the Fifteenth Ward Democratic Women's Club, with Dr. Virginia M. Johnson as president, which is to give some dances this winter to bring the party together."

This scarcely calls for comment. Music hath charms to soothe the savage breast, and warring or uncertain political elements within the party's social lines may all be brought to a reasonable degree of harmony by the peace-compelling strains of the Tango, the same satisfying ragtime of the Turkey Trot, the mellifluous chords and cadences of "Texas Tommy." The most violent progressive tendencies may be lured to a sweet reasonableness by the persuasive notes of a democratically rendered "Trail of the Lonesome Pine." A caustic and callous Republicanism may join hands with a lurid and incendiary Socialistic bias and the dove of Peace, with unruffled plumage may brood above the touching scene. Tears

## THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

fill our eyes—a sob clutches us by the throat. At last, at last! Think how long we have hoped against hope that light would break on the darkness of political strife—that some way of reconciliation would open of how to manage a restive and unreconcilable past. Men have never been able to solve the problem of how to get and keep a party together. They have endured quantities of political disturbance and tumult. And the whole solution lay ready to hand—just "give some dances to bring the party together." *Drex femin facti.*

### Keeping the Commandments

MRS. HUMPHRY WARD is an uncompromising opponent of votes for women, pinning her belief to the immediate home circle, not to the polling booth or the Parliamentary chamber. Urging her moral, she tells of an aged Scot who told his minister that he was going to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. "And while I am there," said the pilgrim, complacently, "I'll read the Ten Commandments aloud from the top of Mount Sinai." "Saunders," said the minister, "tak' my advice. Stay at home and keep them."

## "Ladies of Today" as Viewed by a Colored Woman

THE following selection is taken from an essay written by a Southern colored woman and read at a religious association. The subject is of vital importance, viz., "Ladies of To-day."

"She is one of the attributes of purity and one of the highest pinnacles of majestic honor on which the laws of our country are hanging. She is one of the greatest frontier war vessels of the soil and the most persevering general on the field.

"Now, dear friends, if these sentences be true the greatest demand of the world is for a lady, for the support of a lady is a lady's and the support of a gentleman is a lady; the support of our home is a lady; the support of our country, the only hand that rocks a gentleman's cradle is a lady's, and the only hand that rocks a lady's cradle is a lady's, and the fact is that cradle rockers are world rulers; let them be what they will or may. So then you see how great the need of a lady. Christian ladies raise Christian gentlemen, and if they are led by Christians and supported by the same and backed up by the *Provinces* of God they will be ladies in the highest."

## "VOTES FOR WOMEN!"

WITH APOLOGIES TO HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

The sun was shining bright and clear,  
As coming up the road more near,  
Women who bear for wrong or right,  
Banners inscribed in chrome and white,  
Votes for Women!

Their steps were firm; their bright eyes gleamed,  
Until like something fierce they seem,  
And out from among the ranks there rung  
In accents of each foreign tongue,  
"Votes for Women!"

Each Mother's care the children lack;  
Each Husband longs to have her back;  
Above all else there echoes round  
Those words of such a direful sound,  
"Votes for Women!"

"Try not to go," the Husband pleads;  
"Tis not your vote the country needs;  
It wants your womanhood, naught beside."  
But that rough, hardened voice replied,  
"Votes for Women!"

"Oh! Mother stay," the children plead,  
"And give to us the care we need,"  
But scorn shines in that bright, fierce eye;  
She still replies, with voice pitched high,  
"Votes for Women!"

"Beware the awful price you pay;  
Beware the Home love thrown away."  
This was the Father's last sad call;  
Her voice came back above them all,  
"Votes for Women!"

And hour by hour, as oft before,  
Husband and children longed the more  
That Mother might sometime hear their prayer,  
But hark! A voice thrills through the air,  
"Votes for Women!"

An aged woman, long years have past,  
Who from her heart home-love had cast,  
And in its place had fought for votes,  
Hears naught but her own strident notes,  
"Votes for Women!"

Now, in the twilight of her life,  
One who would not be "Mother" or "Wife,"  
Hears in her heart those calls of love,  
Too late she puts them far above  
Votes for Women!



## Criticisms of "Hagar," the New Feminist Tract of Mary Johnston's

THE noble and misunderstood heroine of the novel which bears her name is a very susceptible young lady, and falls in love with every man who looks her in the eye, except the one picked out for her by her family. She always and invariably, and on all points, disagrees with her family. It is her most marked characteristic. Her first requisite for a husband is that he shall be a Socialist, and she divides the whole human race into two parts, those who are and those who are not Socialists; and she asserts that those upon one side of her arbitrary dividing line should never be so rash as to marry those from the other side.

Socialism is described as "religious," and from various believers in this religion come the following edifying sentiments:

"I suppose sometimes a wedding trip isn't a mockery. . . . I'm not denying noble lovers—men and women—and noble marriages. I'm only saying (!) that the other kind that's not fit nor clean nor decent and anything but noble is so frequent and commonplace that it is rather laughable and altogether sardonic and devilish to kneel down and worship as we do the Institution of Staying Together."

"That's a sucking wife and daughter. . . . Daughters of the horse leech, and perfectly respectable members of society as constituted. Faugh! With their mouths glued to that fat man's pocket. He looks haggard, and at the moment he's probably grinding the faces of no end of men and women, not because he's got a bad heart and really wants to, but because he's got to provide for those two perfectly strong and healthy persons in jewelry and orchids."

Hagar says frankly to her friend, the ex-convict Socialist: "In the last analysis it (the Woman Movement?) is a love quest, if you will. There is a passion of the mind, there is the questing soul, there is the desire that will have union with nothing less than the whole. I will think freely and largely and doing that under pain of being false I must act freely and largely, live freely and largely, nor must I think one thing and speak another, nor must I be silent when silence betrays the whole . . . and so woman no less than man comes into the open." This is illuminating!

The more than self-satisfied—she might almost be called self-worshipping—heroine is very morbid and introspective. She is much snubbed and suppressed by her long-tried family (can you blame them?). The superior child responds to their well-meant efforts to make her behave properly according to their lights with contempt, and proceeds to earn \$10,000 a year by tossing off a few short stories, instantly recognized by editors of the best magazines as the work

of a "new star." Needless to say, the marvelous and misunderstood genius develops a bad case of swelled head. After a wandering life of luxury with a charming but invalid father she returns after his death to her home at Gilead Balm. No doubt her relations there, who have all their lives been too poor to travel, appear to the distinguished authoress as rather narrow and provincial. She proudly gives up the fortune inherited from her father, which might have helped them to broaden their outlook, and in her final interview with them before, to their horror, she goes on the stump for woman suffrage she hurls at them this terrible arraignment: "You're all opponents. Alike you worship God as man, and you worship a static God, never to be questioned nor surpassed. You have shut an iron door upon yourselves." Then she washes her hands of them, saying that she cannot help them to open the door, and that they must do it alone.

Like most women—Suffragists or Socialists, parasites or slaves—Hagar ends in the normal way by getting married. She and her lover have a miraculous escape from drowning, and in the face of death she at last forgets herself and admits that she loves him and consents to say "Yes." Once she has escaped from a watery grave Hagar begins to make conditions with her unfortunate fiancé before she keeps her word, and it is decided between them that, although her work for the suffrage cause is too important to be interfered with, his plans and contracts for building bridges in South America must, of course, be given up! Unlike many of the enlightened leaders of the Woman Movement to-day, however, Hagar not only intends to have a child, but she means when it needs her to "be there" as she calmly informs her future husband two days after she has accepted him.

From a literary point of view the book is ridiculous. All rules of grammar are ignored, but probably the authoress believes in ignoring these as she does other old-fashioned and well-worn rules of procedure.

CAROLINE M. PARKER.

HELEN BULLIS in her criticism of "Hagar" in the New York Times Book Review says:

"A more serious fault of the latter half of 'Hagar,' apart from its vagueness and unreality, is its unfairness. It is very well for a political campaigner to deny either manners or morals to his adversary, but an author who takes for depiction 'a slice of life' is supposed to take a slice, not a boring from a selected spot. Does Miss

Johnston really think that all the opponents of woman suffrage are men who desire to keep women in bondage in order to trample upon them comfortably, or mediævally minded clergymen or parasitic women? One would think so from the examples given in 'Hagar.'

"This is not the place for a discussion of the case *au fond*, but it is no less true of Miss Johnston's book than of many other Feminist tracts, that their authors confuse the ills which women suffer because they are women with the ills which they suffer because they are not voters. And the natural result of this confusion is the fallacy that all ills are immediately remediable, a fallacy responsible for much of the misdirected energy, frantic legislation, all-around unrest, that characterize our opening century. The fact is that most human ills are remediable only by the slow processes of evolution; those that touch us most closely and personally are often those that no amount of struggle can lighten. Why we have to hear them is a mystery, but it is deeply true that, borne to the end, without undue repining and bitterness, strength results, and a solid thing we call character. It is a slow process, and a painful one, and it calls for much folding of hands that long to be tearing down and building again, for a patience and possession of soul that the Hagers of to-day are casting aside as outworn weapons—to their own loss, and to the world's loss."

A people effects great and rapid progress when it discovers that it is the sum of the personal efforts of each individual and not the system of government which determines the rank of a nation in the world.

GUSTAV LE BON.

### A Weapon for Women in the Battle with Slums

JACOB RIIS has an article in the November *Century* on "The Battle with the Slums," in which he says:

"The war on home manufacture in the tenements is to-day's phase of the struggle with the slum. We must first attack it on the score of child labor, and, when that evil is disposed of, from the angle of the welfare of the mother and the home. Here is where woman can help. For this at least she needs no political powers; for she has a better weapon: she is the shopper. She can refuse to buy anything made under unsanitary, unfair conditions. The Consumers' League will inform her on these points; it exists for that purpose. Let her challenge her critics by embracing the principles of the Consumers' League and making them her invariable practice. Should all women do that to-morrow in New York City, tenement-house work would cease the next day."



## A PAGE OF LETTERS

## Home-making and Housekeeping

**A**N interesting letter has been received at the headquarters of the National Association Opposed to Woman suffrage from Toms River, N. J.

September 19, 1913.

To the Secretary of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage.

DEAR MADAM:

Will you kindly tell me if you would accept as a member of your Association one who is not altogether convinced that woman suffrage is fundamentally wrong, but who is very much opposed to the present teaching of the suffrage party in this part of the country, and who thoroughly believes that the vote should not be given to women unless the majority have a sincere desire to secure it?

The present suffrage organization is becoming a school for spreading ideas of lawlessness and materialism. Its influence is out of proportion to its enlightenment or ability. As a woman I should like to protest against its confusion of housekeeping and home-making. Housekeeping and nursery tending may be connected with politics as business is, but all the legislation in the world cannot make a home. The Suffragist who maintains that the problems of the home are solved by legislation, is limiting the sphere of women in the home to housekeeping. Business, housekeeping and politics exist for the sake of the home, and woman, whether married or single, is the natural home-maker of the race. When our country ceases to be a homeland, the best equipped armies in the world will fail to defend it, and when its women become merely its political housekeepers its politicians will cease to be patriots. To promote loyalty to our country's flag and respect for its law should now be the object of every patriotic American woman. I wish to protest against the recent comparison by a leading Suffragist of a Russian revolutionist fighting for our own principles of freedom and justice with an English defier of laws common to both countries.

If my views are acceptable and cover essentials, will you send me blanks for membership and also the names of any women in this town who are connected with your society?

(Miss) GERTRUDE E. KNOX.

## The Case of Illinois Suffrage

**T**O the Editor of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

The suffrage bill was obnoxious to the great body of people in Illinois. The Governor hesitated about signing the bill, for he knew the popular sentiment was against

it, but clubwomen in Illinois are very militant—in their way—they do not burn and blow up, but they will bamboozle and blast reputations of politicians who are not favorable. There seems to be a good many women in Illinois who have time and money to go about demanding for all women a thing that most of them do not want. The Suffragists are frank enough to admit that their cause would be hopelessly lost if submitted to popular vote—men would vote it down—and more than that, if it was submitted to the women of Illinois, I heard one of them say, "They are not educated up to it"—and yet they have involved these same "uneducated" women in a duty which they admit is undesired. It seems to me very unfair—in a country where the majority are supposed to rule—to lobby a law like this through, especially inconsistent in those who profess such great love of justice. Senator Owen need not fear that the great majority of women in Illinois will be "insulted" if the Senate kills this white elephant; on the contrary, they will bless them always. I do not understand the evident fear politicians have of Suffragists—except as one often sees a brave man tremble before his wife! A young woman who had just returned from Washington was speaking of this timidity and said that politicians seemed to think that the demand for suffrage was much greater than it really is.

In the town in which I live the leading citizens are against the expediency of votes for woman. The men who are for it are not practical business men—queer, every one of them—or else afraid! I belong to a social "literary club" of middle-aged women—only one-tenth of them favor the movement. One of them, married, loves reforms! "Birth certificates," "medical marriage permits," "mother's congresses"—anything better than domestic duties. She reads all the awful literature about only twenty-five per cent. of men being marriageable, and naively admits that her last three servants were all "street walkers"—anyone for her kitchen so she can go to some exciting meeting—but she is also dismayed at the danger to her young family—and thinks it is votes for women which will save them. She would go to Congress in a minute—fine looking, as fluent as a Secretary of State—indeed, she urges her fifteen-year-old son to rise to fame via oratory, and not peg along via science, as he would like. She is as lovely, illogical a Suffragist woman as one could find from Chicago to Cairo. Illinois has had woman suffrage thrust upon them.

I know many more anti-suffrage women than the other kind—but they are not gifted in the way of going about on platforms, they simply hate the whole thing.

M. C.

## Who is Behind the Times?

**T**O the Editor of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

DEAR MADAM: I am struck by the good sense of some of your articles and shorter contributions; and am desirous of calling the attention of your readers to a reproach with which we who do not think the winning of the ballot should be the chief end of women are being daily, and I think unjustly, visited.

The reproach is couched in various terms, but its sum and substance is that we are hopelessly "behind the times."

As a matter of fact, is it *we* or our opponents who are behind the times?

When one comes to examine the question it appears that in the very nature of things women did not begin to oppose the idea of suffrage until that idea had been broached by other women. Until some aggressive propagandists of their favorite hobby began to side that hobby *too* aggressively (in the opinion of many of their sister women) no one ever thought of seeking a satisfactory reply to their arguments, or of reasoning out the question to a logical conclusion.

This being unquestionably true, to whom could the epithet "behind the times" be best applied, to the propounders of the belief that woman's salvation lies in seeking the duties and privileges of the opposite sex; or to those who, *after* hearing this belief, have made it their concern to discover the true meaning and intent of woman's place in the world? It seems to me it is the first woman—the Suffragist—who is really "behind" in the thought of the day, since it is by that sober "second thought" that her more deliberate sister women are seeking to govern themselves and to point out to *her* that the *home-making, home-keeping* instinct is as old as the race, and only needs the application of all that is highest and best in us to make of it a pursuit and an achievement worthy of any and all women.

There are other arguments that could be adduced besides the fact that we were last in the field, and therefore have the benefit of the more recent statistics and ideas; but I sincerely wished to broach the subject, in order that we might not, as a thinking body, be put out of countenance by what, it seems to me, is a weapon *we could safely* turn against those who seek to rout us by its over-frequent use.

We are *not*, I contend, "behind the times"—rather are we most fully abreast of them, since we seek to interpret woman and her needs by the light of suffrage mistakes and suffrage inconsistencies; and are in a position to point to the disastrous results of some of their theories, in so far as they are governed by them in action.

ELIZABETH H. SMITH.



## "Back to the Home"—An Expression of Opinion on Both Sides

THIS letter, as an example of emotionalism gone wrong, deserves a little calm consideration.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN.

Sir: O you girls and women in factories and shops, in offices and schools, you eight million of self-supporting women in this big country of ours, back to the home! Back to the only homes you know, keep your aged father's nose to the grindstone to give you food and board and clothes; back to sponge upon the married brother who is already hard pressed to feed and clothe the little ones dependent upon him; back to the consumptive husband who will have to return to the killing work in the factory to keep you in the home; back, every one of you!

Back to the home, Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop! Back to your useless embroidery, your tatting and your darning! Back, Maude Nathan and Florence Kelley! Back to your bridge, and your parties, and your clothes; make yourselves attractive to men, that is the only duty of women; forget the troubles and sorrow of your working sisters; back to the home!

Back, you older women, whose sons have flown the nest, whose daughters have found nests of their own; remain in the home where there are no longer any children to look after, and few duties to fill up your time; back to your gossip with the neighbors, your talk of aches and pains and servants; back to the home!

Remember that cajolery is better than straightforwardness; sweetness is better than usefulness; influence is better than power; it is better to be pretty than to be wise. Never forget to trade on your sex, dear woman; back to the home!

ORANGE, N. J., June 11th. H. T. COOKE.

H. T. Cooke here states, with what manner of authority we may not judge, since none is given, that eight million self-supporting women are all supporting also "aged fathers," "consumptive husbands" or relieving "married brothers." She implies that all these women are necessarily Suffragists and also that if sent "back to the home" they would immediately become parasites. As a matter of fact, of course, a very large number of this eight million self-supporting women are already in the home. The breakfast that H. T. Cooke partook of the morning of her outburst into print was probably prepared by one of these self-supporting women, not necessarily supporting anyone else. H. T. Cooke deplores the talk of "servants." Why and in what way is the factory self-supporter so altogether more interesting than the servant or more worthy H. T. Cooke's commiseration? It is not each home, properly administered, a center of employment for women as much as the factory?

Then H. T. Cooke goes on to assume that women in the home are exclusively occupied with "tatting, embroidery and darning," bridge, parties and clothes and that their minds are concentrated only on how to make themselves "attractive to men." There is really less harm in tatting, em-

broidery and darning than many women may find to do outside the home, but after all, is that H. T. Cooke's notion of a wife and mother's economic value? If so, and there is any truth in it, it is indeed time the home was brought up to modern standards of administration and organization. The head of any well-organized business is certainly able to avoid actual drudgery and so, though we do not think "tatting" at all adequately represents the home-maker's economic value, we are inclined to believe that the tranquil, capable housewife will also find leisure for knitting, bridge, or even useless embroidery if her taste runs towards embellishment. It would be quite as reasonable to measure Mr. Carnegie's business ability by his golf as to judge a woman's value by her tatting or bridge, or even by her darning. H. T. Cooke seems to suppose that, but for the modern political unrest among women, Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop would be still plying the distaff. But women as able and public-spirited have existed in every period of the world's history. They could be named by thousands. The only difference seems to be that Miss Addams' and Miss Lathrop's work is advertised continually and persistently and seems to be more and more likely to become a part of city politics with emolument in proportion.

This thoughtful letter ends with the usual suggestion that "cajolery" is only used in the home and never outside it, that "sweetness" precludes "usefulness" and that "influence" is not "power." Also that in public life woman will be lifted above all temptation to "trade on her sex." H. T. Cooke seems never to have heard of the ward politician and the "infloonce" he is always "after securing," nor does she apparently realize that the most seductive females are not generally in the home at all. Moreover, if all that H. T. Cooke says were true in the sense which she wishes us to believe it true, and eight million women had taken the place of men in supporting families, it would only indicate an abnormal and unfortunate social condition which we should at once set our brains to remedy. The condition, of course, as painted by H. T. Cooke, is greatly exaggerated, for a large proportion of these women workers are performing normal functions in domestic service and shops and are young, strong, blooming girls with neither "aged fathers" nor "consumptive husbands," but are merely members of the working class until they can marry and "get back to the home"—a home of their own—where the woman's economic value always equals her husband's. What working women want is not to be sentimentalized over, but to have their work regulated and well paid. If that

were done in the ordinary middle-class home, I fancy H. T. Cooke would find there were fewer factory girls for her to shed tears over. H. T. Cooke moreover, if she keeps house, probably works as hard or harder these days than many of the women she is weeping about, for the simple reason that domestic labor is regarded by these same factory girls as the most undesirable there is. Has H. T. C. thought out why this is? The factory girl herself would tell her why. It is because though women sentimentalize and emotionalize endlessly, they do not as a rule organize or regulate labor or recognize ability as men do, and the average woman who has her way to make therefore prefers to work under men's management. The factory girl whom H. T. C. calls her "working sister" would decline with scorn a position in H. T. C.'s house, and if she took it would undoubtedly soon cease to be regarded as a "sister" at all. Facts speak for themselves here. Domestic labor which is entirely under woman's control is not a sought-after sphere of activity, although the most remunerative proportionately.

As an example of how practical matters which should be considered impartially and with all the sobriety possible are being obscured and emotionalized by the purely feminine manner of dealing with them, one could hardly find a better instance than this letter of H. T. Cooke's.

As to older women who have nothing to do because their children have flown the nest, could they not lend a hand with the children of some of those eight million workers who are suffering from absentee mothers? Is there nothing for these women to do but "gossip" or complicate politics? It seems to Anti-Suffragists that social conditions at present show a whole world of neglected opportunity.

### "All Women are 'Victims'"

TO the Editor of THE WOMAN'S PROTEST:

Although I admire your reticence in regard to the Caminetti-Diggs case in California, I ask the courtesy of your columns to observe that those nineteen-year-old girls habitually went about with married men to dubious restaurants where they drank, on motor rides, etc., and yet not one suggestion is made that their mothers should have known. No one would dare suggest it. Notice the verbs applied to the girls. They were "induced," "inveighed," "persuaded," "imposed" on, etc., etc., and especially "allowed themselves to believe" or "allowed themselves to be led." When I was a girl one was supposed to know *something* at nineteen—enough at least not to run off to Reno in broad daylight with a married man. If one did it, one at least knew that half the responsibility was one's own. Now it isn't. Suffragists teach that all women are "victims."



## "Lady Gideons" Offer Tea and Tracts to Salesmen

(From the *New York Times*)

"THE work of Lady Gideons is one the Woman's Political Union announced yesterday that it has taken up. The men's society of Gideons sees that traveling salesmen have bibles. The Lady Gideons will give them suffrage literature and the right hand of fellowship in the fight for the vote.

"Last week the union sent an invitation to the Association of Traveling Salesmen, asking a representative to be the guest of honor at its first afternoon tea at headquarters, 13 West Forty-second Street, on Sunday, October 5th. The invitation was accepted yesterday in Washington to get the vote for the traveling salesmen.

"There will be a lively discussion why the salesmen want the vote between suffragists and anti-suffragists, men and women on both sides, before the tea is served."

It is with pleasure we chronicle the initial activities of the "Lady Gideons." These dauntless women are organized to distribute suffrage literature in the hotel bedrooms of the land, after the manner of the "Gideons" who distribute bibles. This is probably a valiant effort to offset the pernicious influence of a man-distributed book, which insists on presenting, with an irrational conservatism, the outworn ideals of the "virtuous woman" who "looked well to the ways of her household," and whose husband was known in the gates; whose children rise up and call her blessed and who mars the moment of a meek and quiet spirit. This old-fashioned person must be put down and that speedily, through the combined influence of those modern magazines and weekly papers which proclaim themselves heralds of "advanced feminism" and the "new civilization."

And why "Lady Gideons?" No one knows what a lady is nowadays. She is a prehistoric creature whose ill-concealed enjoyment at being dragged about by the hair was only equaled by her chastened ecstasy in being turned into a slave. Gideon was a man of stern and warlike type—who broke pitchers in Jericho with the same enthusiasm with which "ladies" break windows in London. The word "lady" is given, like other choice bits of language, to conceal thought. We suppose that "Women Gideons" would hardly do; we acknowledge the impossibility of Gideonesses. But since there is no sex to be acknowledged in this political controversy, why not just "Gideons?" Alas, that, too, is impossible. Gideons distribute bibles. "Lady Gideons" distribute yellow literature—a very different matter. But of all the horns of this dilemma the least uncomfortable has evidently been chosen. It is now up to the Antis to form a society of Lady Daniels. Daniel's chief occupation in life was sitting peacefully among rampant lions and hold-

## THE WOMAN'S PROTEST

ing them with his glittering eye, like an early edition of the Ancient Mariner. Some of us have been thrown to the suffrage lions, tawny and untamed, with commendable regularity. We emerge unharmed from tooth to claw, but with our glittering eyes a trifle mistreated. We will be the Lady Daniels. Now, Lady Gideons—on with the dance!

### A Movement toward Mastodons

THIRTY years ago Gail Hamilton wrote a letter, the logic of whose argument still holds good. She said:

"Without in the least degree impugning the motives or decrying the character of woman suffragists, I sincerely hope that their cause will be unsuccessful, in so far as it would impose the ballot upon women.

"In their desire for the better education of women they have my warmest sympathy, though we might not always agree as to what the better education is, or how it is to be effected. But my earliest instinct and my latest judgment combine in maintaining that women have a right to claim exemption from political duty and responsibility, and that men have no right to lay the burden upon them.

"If the public work is ill done by men, the remedy is to do it better, not to shift the weight to shoulders already heavily laden, and whose task they do not propose in any respect to lighten.

"I regret to see women engaged in the movement, because it indicates a failure to discern the natural place of woman in the order of creation—the place of eternal superiority and supremacy. It is a movement backward towards men and mastodons, the miocene hipparion and eocene anchitherium—instead of forward, in the direction of woman, and the spiritual universe, and everlasting light—and there is not a man in the Massachusetts Legislature who would not tell you so if he were only woman enough to know what I am talking about!"

### Compulsory Maternal Care

THE infant death rate of Huddersfield, England, was 138 per thousand before the Mayor began to offer rewards for the care of infants, and 85 per thousand after his enterprise had put through a compulsory system of notification of births and care of children."—*The Woman's Journal*.

A great reflection on the women of Huddersfield and a credit to the Mayor! Things are in a pretty bad way when women have to be rewarded in order to make them perform their common maternal duties. The votes of such women will not be much help to the State for they will be inspired only by "rewards," which the State terms "bribes."

## The Counsellor Can Not be a Competing Rival

THE position of the Anti-Suffragist is exactly analogous to that of the workman who refuses to quit work or be ordered out on strike because a few demagogues, native or foreign, are trying to do his thinking for him. The Anti-Suffragist, like the intelligent workman, is by no means always a believer in non-resistance. Whatever is a grievance she is willing to work against, and whatever is an advantage to her sex she willingly advocates, but she is unconvinced by the principles which form the stock arguments of suffrage orators and she finds it hard to convince herself that the daughters of women will more accurately represent women's interests in general than do their sons. As a matter of fact, there is no closer, more sympathetic relation than that between father and daughter, mother and son. A man will consult his wife more often on business and politics if he is sure she is not going to be talked over by some female orator or promoter to undersell or vote against him. She maintains her position as counsellor, adviser and sympathizer only by not becoming an active rival. One does not confide in one's political enemy even though so unhappy as to be married to him or her. Quite as before, if suffrage is passed woman will have to choose between her own career and her husband's. Quite as before, she will have to choose her husband's unless he chance to be a "new man" and possesses all the feminine virtues of patience and self-sacrifice. Sporadic instances of this kind exist. The desirable union for suffragettes who possess masculine characteristics would therefore be with men Suffragists who possess feminine ones and these marriages are seen to work fairly well, especially where childless. The father, however, in case of children is not always equal to his task and things do not go so well as under normal conditions.

These women may find a reason for going on strike for the privilege of supporting their clinging and parasitic spouses, but there is no reason whatever why normal women who are perfectly fitted to their environment or natural duties should join them. If the honest workman is satisfied and on good terms with his employer he is indeed a fool to let himself be influenced by demagogues who have nothing better to offer. In fact, police protection is his right in case he is interfered with at his work. If the woman at work or in marriage finds that what all the female agitators say does not fit her case or offer any solution to it, she is indeed wrong to allow herself to be disturbed by their ranting.

There is one power we all possess—the power of self-destruction.



## NOTES AND COMMENT

"The old patriotism," says C. D. Towsley, "had for its watchword 'my country right or wrong.'" The new patriotism has for its watchword, "My sex right or wrong."

Charles Edward Russell, the Socialist candidate for Mayor of New York in the present election, was chairman of the Pankhurst meeting in New York. The only man who would serve?

Now that we have given undeniable evidences of our friendship in admitting Mrs. Pankhurst, perhaps Great Britain will overlook a little matter like the canal tolls.—*Washington Post*.

Some Suffragists would have a government whose purpose is to make conditions where children will be born without criminal desires because born of free mothers, economically, politically and personally free.—Alice Hubbard in the *Fra*.

Science has not yet discovered the magic ring capable of saving a society without discipline. There is need to impose discipline when it becomes hereditary, but when the primitive instincts have been allowed to destroy the barriers painfully erected by slow ancestral labors, they cannot be reconstituted save by an energetic tyranny.

GUSTAV LE BON,

"The Psychology of Revolution."

Where public employment begins there begins also the clamor of the great comedians and the buzzing of venomous flies. The comedian always believes in that which makes him obtain his best effects, in that which impels the people to believe in him. To-morrow he will have a new faith and the day after to-morrow yet another \* \* \* all that is great has its being far from public employment and glory.

NIETZSCHE.

When the difference between legitimate and illegitimate children is abolished in every respect, the paternal home, as in classical and Scandinavian antiquity, may include children of more than one living mother; sometimes even a mother's home may include children of more than one living father. In either case this would be a recognition of the children's rights which would leave present-day customs with respect to children born out of wedlock a long way behind.—"Economic Independence of Married Women," Ellen Key in the *Fra*.

No one yet seems to understand that individuals and their methods, not regulations, make the value of a people. The efficacious reforms are not the revolutionary reforms, but the trifling ameliorations of every day, accumulated in course of time. \* \* \*

Unhappily the progress in little things which by their total make up the greatness of a nation is rarely apparent, produces no impression on the public, and cannot serve the interests of politicians at elections. These latter care nothing for such matters and permit the accumulation, in the countries subject to their influence, of the little successive disorganizations which finally result in great downfalls.

GUSTAV LE BON.

Suffragists indignantly deny that woman has a type of her own. Botanically speaking, they regard her as a "sport," or variation from the true type, which is man. They wish to have her lose all her special characteristics so as to acquire more and more of his, and they heap on the "Anti," who declines to sacrifice her personality, such terms as "parasite," "slave," "clinging vine," etc. The Anti-Suffragist in the meantime searches in vain for the independent woman among the lobbyists and industrial drudges held up to her for admiration as examples. She still finds the independent woman is she who administers her own home, not as servant, as the Suffragists would have it, but as mistress and conscious partner in its duties and its joys. The last person in the world likely to retain independence is the politician dependent on the people's favor. "*It is easier to please the king than all the royal family.*"

"If a Glasgow lad wearies of work he marries a Dundee lassie," runs the saying in Scotland. Dundee, the center of the jute trade, must surely be, an industrial paradise from the Suffragists' point of view. Women form three-fifths of the persons employed; they, rather than the men, carry on the skilled processes of the trade, and the employment of married women takes place on a large scale. Here are women who cannot be taunted with the adjective "parasites," and yet what do we find as the result of their labors? The highest infant mortality rate in Scotland; physical deterioration of so grave a character that the Chief Inspector of Factories in his report for 1900 spoke of a height of five feet and a weight of nine stone as being of common occurrence in men of twenty years

and upwards; and general social and domestic conditions which are the despair of all who know them.—Violet Markham.

(Special to *The World*).

CHICAGO, September 30.—A remedy has been found for laziness that has nothing to do with hookworm destroyers. It was made public at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Study of Spondylotherapy.

RED is the answer.

If you are lazy and a man, wear a red necktie. The laborer who wears a red woolen undershirt is full of energy. A woman who wears a red hat can gad about without fatigue. Yellow has the opposite effect. It enervates, not to say stupefies.

Dr. Albert Abrams of San Francisco is sponsor for this effect of colors.

"I have tested the color scheme on humans and the lower animals, and find red to be the type imparting the greatest energy," he said.

Perhaps this will explain why the Socialists are able to pull the wool over the eyes of the Suffragists, their "weaker sisters," as they term them.

Daniel DeLeon, the great Socialist writer and leader, says:

"It is an optical illusion to suppose that woman suffrage can, to-day, be obtained separately from the Socialist Republic."

OCTOBER 1, 1913

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MRS. ARTHUR M. DODGE,

(Signature of editor, publisher, business manager or owner.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 18th day of September, 1913.

W. E. FEE,

Notary Public, N. Y. County.

(My commission expires March 15, 1915.)



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#### BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5) *G. K. Chesterton*  
 Votes for Women (10c.) *Frederic Harrison*  
 Woman Adrift (\$1.50) *Harold Owen*  
 The Nature of Woman (\$1.25) *J. Lionel T aylor*  
 The Business of Being a Woman (\$1.50) *Ida Tarbell*  
 The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage (\$1.00) *Sir Almroth Wright*  
 The Ladies' Battle (\$1.00) *Molly Elliott Seawell*  
 Book of Woman's Power (\$1.25)  
 The Unrest of Women (\$1.00) *E. S. Martin*  
 Votes for Men (50c.)  
 Anti-Suffrage: Ten Good Reasons (50c.) *Grace Duffield Goodwin*  
 The Response of Woman (40c.) *Arthur W. Robinson, D.D.*  
 Woman and the Republic (25c.) *Mrs. Rossiter Johnson*

Anti-Suffrage Calendar for 1911, with many interesting quotations. These can be obtained by applying to

THE WOMAN'S PROTEST.

We recommend to our readers the new Monthly, THE COMMON CAUSE, which is opposed to Socialism. Subscription \$2.00. Office, 154 East 23d Street, N. Y. Also, THE REMONSTRANCE; subscription, 50 cents; 687 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.

Some pamphlets issued by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women: Some of the Reasons Against Woman Suffrage

*Francis Parkman*

Of What Benefit to Woman?  
 Why I Am Opposed to Woman Suffrage *Jeannette L. Gilder*  
 Letter to Legislative Committee *Mrs. Clara T. Leonard*  
 Argument Before Committee *Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells*  
 Municipal Suffrage for Women—Why? *Frank Foxcroft*  
 Taxpaying Suffrage *Charles R. Saunders*  
 The Wage-earning Woman and the State *Minnie Bronson*  
 Rights and Exemptions Given by Massachusetts Law to Women and Not to Men  
 Opinions of Eminent Persons Against Woman Suffrage  
 In Opposition to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (a List of Massachusetts Men)  
 Woman's Power and Woman Suffrage *Ida M. Tarbell*

Pamphlets and Leaflets may be obtained from the Secretary of the Association  
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